

# AZANIA COMBAT

JUNE - JULY

- SERVICE SACRIFICE & SUFFERING -

1976

## From Sharpeville to Soweto



Stones are their only weapons and the lid of a garbage can is a shield against machine guns and rocket launchers for militant Azanian youths fighting it out with apartheid fascist police in the streets of Alexandra Township (Dark City), nine miles from the centre of Johannesburg, on Friday, June 18.



A CALL TO AZANIANS  
from

Potlako K. Leballo, Acting President of the PAC

The popular uprising against apartheid facism at home has lifted our struggle to a new height. The courage of our children and the rest of our compatriots is unique in the annals of African Liberation struggles. This heroic struggle is a challenge for us to close our ranks and fight as one for the overthrow of our mortal enemy -- apartheid facism. I call on all patriotic Azanians to come forward... the battle at home is our Supreme Task -- one and all! There can be no turning back. We must fight until a free and democratic Azania is born.

June 22, 1976



The *Washington Post* went to visit Mangaliso Sobukwe, the National Leader of the Azanian people and President of the PAC, in Kimberly, where he is under house arrest and surrounded by a minefield of restrictions, to ask for an assessment of the current situation. Their report says: "He is convinced large scale guerilla war will soon break out in Namibia ... and will ultimately spill over into the South African heartland itself. The tide of Black liberation, he thinks, cannot be resisted, and the regime of Prime Minister Vorster, for all its outward strength will crumble suprisingly fast". It continues, "Now, Sobukwe understands, young South African blacks greet each other in the segregated townships with clenched fists, the symbol of black power".

## Blacks Explode In S. Africa; Scores Killed

The blacks who, by the rigid rules of apartheid, must almost all live in their own townships in South Africa last week rioted in eight townships and two universities, and many were killed and injured by the bullets of white and black policemen seeking to contain the violence. The sudden eruption, rare in South Africa, constituted new and ominous evidence of how quickly the already tense conditions of the southern part of the continent can worsen.

There is little chance that the 15 million unarmed and helpless blacks of South Africa can successfully challenge the feared army and sophisticated weapons of the 4.5 million whites who have imposed apartheid on them. But there is no doubt that majority rule is the eventual aim of South Africa's blacks as it is the immediate demand of those in neighboring Rhodesia. And the unexpected, destructive rioting has only re-emphasized what has been apparent for months: There is a race between dictatorship and guerrilla warfare, in southern Africa, and the rioting may constitute a signal that the time for that race has been shortened.

The violence issue that led to the rioting is itself symptomatic of the fundamental question of who will govern. The regime has attempted to impose a new regulation requiring black students in some black schools to study half their subjects in Afrikaans, regarded by blacks as the language of their oppressors. Students in Soweto, the huge black township a few miles from modern Johannesburg—where blacks work but cannot live, except as the domestic servants of whites—marched in demonstration.

There was a flare-up between police and students Wednesday for which each side blames the other. The police fired. The students rioted. The rioting spread to other black enclaves and there were other clashes in which police used automatic weapons.

The Government's most recent figures were that more than 100 (all but two black) had died and more than 1,600 were injured.

Government and police officials expressed determination to end the riots. Prime Minister John Vorster said in Parliament: "We will not be intimidated and will maintain law and order at all costs."



South African policemen in Soweto remove the body of a white Government official who, according to a witness, was backed to death.

## Language issue prompts race clash in South Africa

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

There has been another sign of vigorous black nationalism simmering just below the surface and ready to erupt in South Africa. It came in a massive demonstration in the vast African township of Soweto just outside Johannesburg.

In it six people were killed—including two policemen—and at least 40 hurt.

The trouble was the culmination of a strike started earlier this month by Soweto high-school students protesting against the South African Government's insistence that they be taught mathematics and social studies in Afrikaans, not English. (Afrikaans is the language of white South Africans of Dutch descent from whose community has come the main thrust for the country's controversial race policies.)

Early Wednesday hundreds of students gathered at the western boundary of Soweto for another protest march. They carried banners saying: "Down with Afrikaans," "We are not Boers," and "Long live Xhosa."







# S. Africa jolted by rioting

All sides expected to call for reforms

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town

The riots in Soweto, the huge African township outside Johannesburg, have shocked white South Africans more than anything since the killing of 69 Africans by police at Sharpeville 16 years ago.

The shock is all the greater because South Africa was just getting over the impact of its sudden and unsuccessful involvement in the war in nearby Angola. Now comes this serious flare-up right inside the country's own borders, at a time of unrest elsewhere in southern Africa when South Africa itself needs calm and unity.

The riots are likely to increase the calls from all sides for the government of Prime Minister John Vorster to speed up its racial reforms. Even government supporters are clearly uneasy.

They have been lulled into a feeling of security over the past decade by the almost remarkable peace and quiet in South Africa, while there has been so much unrest in countries nearby, such as Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Angola.

Now they have seen how deceptive that was, and how inflammable the situation at home can be.

Just after Sharpeville, various leading white South Africans called for drastic policy changes in favor of blacks and declared that the "old book of South African history is dead."

This chorus can be expected again — but more urgently this time because African nationalists now have ended white rule in neighboring Angola and Mozambique.

South Africa that evolved from 17th century Dutch. The language issue seems to have triggered deeper resentments.

## 'Language of the Oppressor'

"Afrikaans is the language of the police station, the pass office and the oppressor," declared The Rand Daily Mail, the Johannesburg newspaper that is a butt under the Government saddle. The paper's interpretation, was expressed on placards that the students carried to their confrontation with the police.

Even Die Vaderland, an Afrikaans newspaper that strongly backs the ruling Nationalist Party, carried the message to

its readers yesterday with a photograph displayed across the top of its front page.

The photograph showed a placard lying against the charred body of a white official killed in the rioting. The placard read: "Beware Afrikaans, the most dangerous drug for our culture."

"Afrikaans is a stench" read another, photographed where students dropped it after the exchange of rocks and gunfire that preceded the rioting.

If it is a symbol to blacks, the language is no less so to the 2.4 million Afrikaners, descendants of the Boers who settled on the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century.

From the early 19th century, the time of the British takeover of the Cape colony, more than a century passed before the Afrikaner, through the Nationalist Party, regained unfettered control of the land that his forefathers had settled.

When the nationalists came to power in 1948, they set out to reinforce the position of the Afrikaner. Language was a part of this, and Afrikaans, officially unequal with English, became increasingly predominant in government.

## A Monument to Afrikaans

The Government erected a towering monument symbolizing the language outside Paarl, in the Cape Province.

Celebrating the language and installing it as the principal tongue of politics were, however, not enough. Over the years, with English the language of business, blacks overwhelmingly preferred English to Afrikaans.

In this lay the seeds of the Soweto riot. In 1974, the authorities in the Transvaal, acting in concert with the central Government, ruled that English and Afrikaans were to be used equally in black junior secondary schools.

Aside from the political implications, it was a decision fraught with complexity for most black children. A hybrid that stems from the high Dutch of the Boers, intermingled with touches of Malay and other settler-tongues, it is considered by linguists far from easy to learn.

The decision was also, in a special sense, discriminatory. While white students in the country's English-speaking community are required to study Afrikaans as a language in state schools, they are not obliged to use it as a medium of instruction.

Black parents and teachers protested that the ruling would retard the students' education since most had grown up speaking an African tongue and English. But the Government held firm, dismissing school board officials who resisted.

## Text of Vorster Statement

(Reprinted from The New York Times)

JOHANNESBURG, June 18—Following is the text of a statement by Prime Minister John Vorster to Parliament in Cape Town today, as recorded here from a broadcast:

The violence and arson which have prevailed in Soweto for the past two days have spread to several other places in the area, to the university at Fort Hare and the University of Zululand. The police, however, are actively engaged in restoring order, and there is definitely no reason for any panic. The whole object is to cause large-scale panic in South Africa by spreading rumors, in this way, for example, rumors were suddenly spread here, and elsewhere, and I'm merely giving you this as an example, that a bomb had allegedly exploded on a Johannesburg station and that 40 people were killed.

That rumor is completely untrue. It is significant that such a rumor started simultaneously in several parts of the country. Consequently, the public must be on their guard against these and other rumors which, according to my information, will be spread on a large scale. You are requested to attach no value to them. You will, as frequently as it is necessary, be kept informed of developments. Besides the rumors, which are being spread so deliberately and in such an organized way, the object is that panic should be sown by way of arson. I have to inform you that the police

have been instructed, regardless of who is involved, to protect lives and property with every means at their disposal.

Unfortunately, I cannot name any other occasion but that we are dealing here not with a spontaneous outburst but with a deliberate attempt to bring about polarization between whites and blacks. Certain organizations and persons, working together to achieve this, are doing this with a view to obtaining obvious objectives. Further to what the Minister of Justice has already said, I want to issue a warning that this kind of behavior should immediately be stopped.

This Government will not be intimidated, and instructions have been given to maintain law and order at all costs. Those educational institutions at which blacks are destroying their own amenities will be closed for an indefinite period. If, as it would seem to me, people have the idea that the Government, in view of my intended talks, will now hesitate to act, they are making a mistake. I want to emphasize that however important these talks are, and they are very important, law and order in South Africa is more important to me than anything else.

(Reprinted from The New York Times)

JOHANNESBURG, June 17 — The rioting and bloodshed now troubling South Africa began with what was a relatively minor cause, in the context of apartheid.

The issue that set 10,000 students marching in the black township of Soweto was a Government requirement that they be instructed in some subjects in Afrikaans, the language of the Boer settlers of

## ROOTS OF VIOLENCE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Language Issue That Led to Riots Pits White Tradition Against Black Rejection



United Press International

South African students in Soweto, near Johannesburg, protesting against compulsory use of Afrikaans in schools



United Press International

South African blacks protesting the teaching of Afrikaans watch as a truck burns in the township of Soweto.



# South African Press, in Editorials on Riots in Townships

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 19—South African newspapers have reacted in different ways to the township riots of the past week that has left more than 100 dead and 1,000 injured. A selection of excerpts follows.

**The Rand Daily Mail:** If anything is calculated to bring home to the country the extreme gravity of its present crisis it is the warning that came from the Prime Minister yesterday.

The government, he said, was determined to maintain "order at all cost" and the police had been instructed to "act without regard to persons involved" to protect property and lives.

We believe that tough measures may be necessary to stop the violence, but "order at all cost." The words strike chills. They presage the possibility of action as ferocious that one shudders to think where it might lead.

The fuses of racial enmity are alight and time is desperately short. Police power may delay an explosion but only a bold gesture from white to black can avert it.

**The Star:**—The urgent priority now is to end the violence. All agree, except the thugs and agitators who are undeniable ingredients of this bloody mix.

The politicians have had time to collect their thoughts. Already there are distressing signs that fundamental issues may be lost in a welter of defensive recrimination.

When the fires are out and the dead are buried, we must not lose sight of these factors in the witch-hunt that follows if there were agitators who cold-bloodedly led Soweto into violence, let them be found and face justice.

If the riots and the burning and the killing make white South Africa more responsive to the needs and rights of those who live in the shadow city, Soweto, then something decent and worthwhile will have been salvaged from the mindlessness and futility of it all.

**Beeld:** The question now is how the explosion in Soweto should be approached — and how similar occurrences can be avoided in the future. South Africa cannot afford disorder on this scale.

For this reason it is commendable that the Soweto Bantu Administration Board considers it necessary to conduct an investigation on every necessary aspect. But a primary factor can be identified at the outset — a lack of communication between the authorities and the people of Soweto.

The Government has for some time been aware of smoldering resentment against the forced use of Afrikaans as the medium of primary education. Yet no one expected an explosion of this nature.

Now Soweto is burning. Criminals have taken their opportunity, and the police have to restore order. Of course, this is the first, urgent priority. And the police can be helped if the authorities give their urgent attention to a request that black parents be allowed to select the medium of education for their children.

**Die Transvaler:** It is both good and necessary that the chairman of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board has promised an in-depth investigation at the highest level of the unrest in Soweto.

The unrest does not constitute merely a language resentment among a group of schoolchildren. The students were organized behind the scenes.

And the masses joined the unrest, possibly a form of mass hysteria. But the fact remains that the masses are ready to align themselves with the first signs of anarchy. This must be kept in mind. And in the same breath we have to admit that there are more negative emotions aflame among the blacks than officialdom is willing to admit.

Whatever the case may be, we believe that there is sufficient evidence that our communications with the black man leave much to be desired. There is good reason to believe that an in-depth investigation of all the factors involved is of the most urgent necessity.

Comments from The World, an English-language daily for the black people, were not immediately available.

## Zambians in Atom Protest

LUSAKA, Zambia, June 20 (Reuters) — Zambian students today broke windows of the French Embassy here in protest against France's proposed sale of nuclear power plants to South Africa.

## South African Office Is Vandalized Here

An unidentified man wrecked computer equipment and smashed a large plate-glass window yesterday at the Fifth Avenue offices of the South African Airways. The vandal was said to have been accompanied by another man who snapped photographs of the incident. No one was injured and the two men escaped.

The incident occurred in the airline agency at 605 Fifth Avenue, near 49th Street, shortly before 1 P.M. Two women receptionists told the police and agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation that the intruders said nothing when asked what they were doing.

The police said both men were black, but they were unable to determine whether the attack was connected with the recent race riots in South Africa.

A spokesman for the F.B.I. said the agency would become involved under laws requiring protection of foreign diplomats and establishments.



South African youths play near a burning bus during rioting in Soweto, South Africa



South African policeman holding off demonstrator after rioters overturned car in Johannesburg, killing a man whose body is under the vehicle. Yesterday marked the third day of the worst rioting in South African history. (United Press International)



Two South African students carry the body of a youth who was shot during disturbances in Soweto. (Associated Press)

Thursday, June 17, 1976

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



South African students clash with police over the use of Afrikaans in school (AP photo)

AP photo



# The Sham of Independence

By DAVID SIBEKO

**N**O SENSIBLE PERSON WILL deny that so-called independence for the Transkei bantustan is a fraud. Discussion is centered on how to relate to this sham when the South African apartheid regime finally delivers "independence" next October. For the Azanian national liberation movement, which is recognized by both the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the people of South Africa, the issue is quite clear: Vorster is not going to be allowed the satisfaction of seeing his diversionary tactic draw the fire away from the main culprit — the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

As pointed out in a paper on Transkei prepared for the United Nations by a British anti-apartheid group, last year, the basic ideas behind the bantustan programs, and the geographical configurations which have resulted from them, are deeply rooted in the history of colonialism in Southern Africa and cannot be understood in isolation from their colonial background. "This continuity of policy demonstrates that the bantustan program is . . . a long-standing strategy which is an essential condition of the maintenance of white supremacy."

During the late '50s the anti-colonial struggles all over Africa swung into full gear, whilst inside South Africa a new militancy was being injected into the struggle for freedom and genuine independence. Unlike the colonial powers in

metropolitan Europe, where governments were further pressurized by their own liberal-minded citizens, the white settler oligarchy in South Africa responded with intensified repression rather than concede to the legitimate demand of the indigenous African masses. In his *History of African Nationalism*, John Hatch, the British historian, points out that a foreign-based colonial power could not have survived for long after an event such as the traumatic anti-pass campaign, launched by the Pan Africanist Congress when police massacred scores of African demonstrators, at Sharpeville in 1960.

The switch in tactics from naked to camouflaged white settler colonialism took place in South Africa around the same time. The Verwoerd regime decided it was going to rename the "Native Reserves" created under the Native Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and call them "Bantu homelands" ("Bantua" succeeded "Native" as the derogatory name for Africans in South Africa), and grant these areas some autonomy. Meanwhile, along with gaining independence, African states to the North had acceded to membership of the United Nations causing criticism against apartheid to mount inside the world body. At the same time resistance by the African masses within the country intensified. That explains why Verwoerd, the principal architect of apartheid, said: "This is a form of fragmentation which we would rather not have had if it was within our control to avoid it . . . in the light of the forces to which South Africa is being subjected, there is, however, no doubt as to what must be done in the course of time."

From the earliest days of white domination in South Africa the "Native reserves" were set aside as cheap Black labor reservoirs, as well as dumping grounds for Africans classified as obsolete to the industries in the white areas. The harsh pass laws have since that time been used to effect rigid control of the movement of Africans. Under pressure from political forces within South Africa and abroad, as we can see from Verwoerd's foregoing statement, the reserves were metaphorically converted into "Bantu homelands", a far cry from the legitimate demands for complete self-determination articulated on behalf of the African masses by their national liberation movement.

Since 1963 the apartheid regime has contrived to use the Transkei as the prize exhibit of its nefarious scheme of dismembering Azania. This carried on despite the fact that in the test of opinion that preceded the creation of a Transkei "assembly", Kaiser Matanzima's "Transkei National Independence Party" was soundly outvoted by supporters of the non-racialist and anti-bantustan Democratic Party led by Knowledge Gqumana. Journalists have found that old-fashioned Tammany Hall bribery has been responsible for eroding Gqumana's elected majority in the toy assembly. Fearing that Gqumana would dissolve the assembly and undermine the hoax he was laying out, Verwoerd packed the Transkei "legislature" with 64 sub-chiefs in his pay, enabling his protégé, Matanzima, to be appointed "chief minister."

The African masses in the Transkei have refused to be taken in by any of the cosmetics the apartheid regime has used to make this travesty

David Sibeko is Director of Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa).



ty of self-government more acceptable. The people have nothing but contempt for the flunkies who have agreed to be used by the apartheid regime, to give away their birthright in the rest of Azania, and who oppress them, on behalf of Pretoria with laws such as the 16-year-old Clause 400 emergency regulation, which gives powers of unlimited detention without trial to corrupt headmen and puppet chiefs. A pamphlet sent from Transkei to "our friends abroad" by Azanian patriots denounced the black salesmen of apartheid installed as quasi-diplomats in apartheid South Africa's missions abroad, as lackeys and barn traitors who represent nothing more than their own selfish interests."

Here we must recall that many of the Azanian national liberation movement's leaders and freedom fighters who have been hanged, and many more who are serving long sentences on Robben Island, or are under house arrest and other restrictions, were born and grew up in Transkei. These include Poqo combatants caught attempting to assassinate Kaiser Matanzima, in 1963. James Thomson, Curator of the Niceman Foundation for Journalism in the United States, was in South Africa (under the auspices of the US-South Africa Leader Exchange Program) during the summer of 1975 and he visited Transkei and says he found that: "Pretoria's black collaborators — the brothers Matanzima (Kaiser and George) — and their lesser-chief supporters in the Transkei National Independence Party have established a mutually beneficial and highly lucrative relationship with Pretoria." Thomson adds, "The Matanzimas are regarded by many of their own Xhosa subjects, as well as non-Xhosa blacks, as Uncle Toms or worse. . . . The Matanzimas' critics, inside and outside the Transkei — some white, but mostly black — perceive . . . a combination of self-enrichment and wishful thinking, or opportunism and greed. Their central and most searing charge is that the charade of independence will permanently deprive four million blacks of their birthright: an equitable share in the



Tea nursery near Lusikisiki.

wealth and power of the South African nation — a nation in large part created and sustained by the toil of blacks."

Very often the South African racist regime, unwittingly of course, provides further evidence indicating rejection of its apartheid policies of separate development by the African people. The much vaunted promise the regime made of home-ownership for Africans in the urban areas, under a 30-year leasehold (trumpeted as a major concession by the sometimes sycophantic English-language press in South Africa) was delivered with a "sting in the tail", declared the *Johannesburg Star* (November 1 '75). This is because one of the conditions states that every adult Black who wishes to own a house in a South African town "will first have to become a citizen of a Bantustan". That is political blackmail, pure and simple.

The regime can also be self-convincing, especially when forced to unveil its true policies. One such occasion was last August when the minister responsible for the bantustans, M.C. Botha, stated bluntly: "In the economic framework of the country, the economy of the homelands is interwoven with that of the Republic of South Africa and it stands to reason that the development of the homelands cannot be carried out at a pace which would have detrimental effect on the economy of the country."

There is a Chinese saying: "Facts written in blood cannot be disguised by lies written in ink." The central fact in what was said by Botha is that South Africa is one country. As Matanzima's critics told Mr. James Thomson, Transkei "independence" is wishful thinking.

Sometimes apologists for the sham "independence" Vorster is



Bag-making factory at Butterworth, Transkei.

preparing for Transkei frivolously compare that exercise to the genuine decolonization of the former "High Commission" territories in South Africa, particularly landlocked Lesotho. It is no use pretending that the differences between Lesotho and Transkei are "mere technical legalities" because international relations are based on such laws. Not only was Lesotho never part of the Union or the Republic of South Africa, the Sothos waged an authentic struggle to revoke British protectorate status and assume independence. There is no indigenous movement calling for secession from the rest of Azania in Transkei. On the contrary, Azanians there demand their just share of the power and wealth of the South Africa nation.

There have also been suggestions that the liberation movement in Azania ought to accept Transkei

"independence" as a "step towards total liberation". Such political opportunism is unworthy and distorts the true situation. The apartheid regime, as pointed out earlier, wishes to use the Bantustans to perpetuate white supremacy. If the Azanian liberation movement elected to join the sell-outs in signing away the people's birthrights in the remaining 87 per cent of the country it could have no hope of continued support from the masses it represents whose mandate is clear and unequivocal. The Pan Africanist commitment also forbids acquiescence in further colonialist balkinization of African lands.

Lastly, there are emotive arguments favoring recognition of Transkei "independence based on humanitarian considerations for those Africans trapped inside Transkei. Questions like, "Why

should people go without work, go hungry, why must children die, through lack of opportunities and facilities which the Transkeian authorities could channel?" have been posed. The fact of the matter is that the Transkei bantustan and the other reserves were deliberately designed to cause such suffering. The liberation movement is struggling to liquidate such injustices in all of Azania. The apartheid regime is guilty of these crimes, it can not pass the buck. The jobless and starving people in the reserves are entitled to the great wealth currently monopolized by the capitalist system and its watchdog, the apartheid regime. The Azanian people cannot be blackmailed into surrendering their inalienable rights, for hand-outs and crumbs from the master's table. The people know full well that the price for freedom can be life itself, and they

---

**This was the Sharpeville Massacre of March 21, 1960, when South African police machine gunned a crowd of unarmed demonstrators, leaving 72 dead.**





have been paying. They are determined to continue doing so, just like the Indochinese who suffered the most savage bombings man has ever known, before emerging victorious, when US imperialism was finally forced to give up its imposed puppet regimes in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Vorster has it within his power to subject this view to popular expression, through the vote, but he dare not!

The delusion that apartheid South Africa, because of military strength and the police state it operates, will never be forced to give in to the struggle for self-determination in Azania, still survives in the minds of a few people. Before concluding, this must be examined because it is the downfall of apartheid fascism that will finally destroy the white supremacists' grand design of divide and rule through charades like

Transkei.

A journalist from the conservative London *Sunday Telegraph* recently toured South Africa and he says "I went to South Africa to listen and try to understand . . .", here is part of what he heard: "The blacks are prepared to work with us inside the system," said a young government minister, insisting that the "situation was not near the explosion point, nor was the government living in a fool's paradise". (Two days after that report appeared, on Wednesday, March 31, South Africa announced an increase of its military budget by 40 per cent to \$1.6 billion. Explaining the need to double defence spending in the last two years the finance minister, Owen Horwood, said "Political developments in southern Africa clearly demanded an increase in South Africa's defense effort and military preparedness").

After his talk with the government minister the *Telegraph* reporter, Graham Turner, spoke to a young African student in Soweto and says he wonders if the minister was talking about the same people. The African student told him: "I could take you down the street and you will find they all talk about Black Power, Vietnam will be nothing to this . . . On the surface it is quiet but below there is a volcano". In another interview Turner spoke to a Progressive Party MP who told him " . . . the mood of the older blacks is rapidly becoming the same as that of the young blacks". The Progressive party MP, Alex Boraine, related an encounter with members of the minibus-taxis, the urban "hantu council" in Soweto, to substantiate his statement.

"They told me they were tired of

SMOLDERING RUINS OF GOVERNMENT BUILDING WHERE APARTHEID DOCUMENTS ARE ISSUED, AFTER BEING SET AFIRE BY BLACK PROTESTERS



## Sham of Independence

being a rubberstamp for bauskap, and they couldn't go on any longer apologizing to their sons. I know about the anger of the younger blacks, but that these middle-of-the-road respectable people could display that sort of accumulated anger perturbed me very much. I saw, as never before, the stark alternative between a revolution of caring and a revolution of blood. Those choices are coming closer. If we don't move fast, there will be no choice left".

Another Black "moderate" told Turner: "My greatest fear is confrontation . . . if anybody of Robert Sobukwe's calibre stood up, I'm almost certain it would lead straight to violence".

The South African apartheid regime does not live in a fool's paradise. Hence the heavy spending on military equipment. The alleged "threat" of external aggression is as old as any of the euphemisms in South Africa's "newspeak". The real threat to the apartheid regime comes from the Black people who are prepared to do their own fighting, as Turner found out. The guerilla wars in the former Portuguese territories,

as well as those in Algeria and Indochina, have vindicated Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that people, and not things, are decisive in the making of war. Modern weapons can assist the delay of victory for the people's war in Azania, but they cannot hold out forever. The statements above show that Azanians are ready to fight.

South Africa is vulnerable on many fronts, even before we take into account the collapse of the buffer zones provided by the Portuguese (and soon it will be Rhodesian which goes). In the years since the efforts at armed struggle in the mid-1960s most of the rough edges have been smoothed out in the Azanian guerilla. A highly industrialized country like South Africa cannot withstand for long a campaign of sophisticated sabotage. And when that takes place, economic sense will force the regime to concentrate on protecting the country's main assets: urban-based major and secondary industries. A total call-up can at best produce only 8,000 regular soldiers backed by some 75,000 reservists and not more than 40,000 regular police and reservists. Apartheid South Africa would be forced to abandon

much of the countryside. The countryside is the natural base area for guerillas; aerial bombardment can be severe but control can only be effected through forces on the ground. It will be a hard struggle but all evidence shows that the Azanian people are ready to make the necessary sacrifices to force their enemy to give in to reasonable demands for self-determination for all, in a democratic and united Azania.

The prospects for victory in the struggle against white supremacy in South Africa are being calculated in years rather than decades, with good reason, as can be seen in references from independent observers in foregoing paragraphs. Against such a background "independence" for Transkei becomes as relevant as time-purchasing devices like the bogus assemblies created by the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau during the wars of liberation. Mutanzima's Transkei can become a fait accompli, just like Tshombe's Katanga was in the 1960s. Far-sighted people will avoid falling into the same pitfalls which swallowed up the Belgian colonialists and their Union Miniere. □

Published by the:

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania  
Observer Mission to the United Nations

Provisional Address:  
875 West End Avenue, #14E  
New York, N.Y. 10025



# The answer to Kissinger's African strategy: A strong movement vs. imperialism, apartheid!



Press conference held on April 27 by organizations endorsing the May 1 Anti-Apartheid action in New York City. Left to right: Gay McDougall, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Laurie Fierstein, Youth Against War & Fascism; John Akpan, Pan African Students Organization in the Americas; Tom Soto, Larry Holmes, YAWF; Yemi Agbeyegbe, PASOA; Kehe Nkula,

Pan African Congress of Azania; Dan Berrigan; Tulinane Emyula, South West African People's Organization.

Workers World—April 30, 1978

Since 1965

## U.S. \$\$ in South Africa triples

By MOLLY CHARRONEAU  
NEW YORK, April 25—Despite the lies which Ford, Kissinger, and other representatives of U.S. big business try to tell us, U.S. imperialism has only one true interest in South Africa: PROFIT.

The super-oppression of Black people there by the racist South African regime through the apartheid system causes no real concern on the part of U.S. corporations. On the contrary, they find that apartheid facilitates their plunder of the labor and resources which rightfully belong to Black South Africans, and their collaboration with the pro-Nazi South African regime helps fill their coffers and fuel their war machine.

Over the past decade, during a period of mounting international protest against apartheid, U.S. investment in South Africa has tripled from \$500 million to \$1.5 billion.

Most recently Kennecott Copper Corporation, Caltex (an oil profiteer), and Seagrams have joined the already large number of American corporations operating in South Africa.

Kennecott Copper has announced a planned \$300 million investment in iron- and titanium-bearing beaches along the coast of South Africa.

Although Kennecott contends that the titanium will be used as a pigment for textiles, art, and paper industries in Europe, most of the metal will undoubtedly go toward commercial and military airplanes. In 1971 the U.S. used 84 percent of domestic titanium for this purpose.

### CALTIX REAPS OIL PROFITS

Caltex announced last year a \$134 million expansion of its Milnerton refinery near Capetown. Once completed in 1979, the refinery's capacity will be 100,000 barrels of crude oil daily—double the current capacity. Always in need of vast oil resources to fuel their armies, police forces, and the industries which they control, both U.S. imperialism and South Africa will benefit from Caltex's operations.

But to Africans whose oil is being stolen Caltex offers next to nothing. The percentage of Africans in the Caltex workforce has fallen from 32 percent to 22 percent, although they are the vast majority of the population. With no unions and no job protection, they receive starvation wages far below those of whites.

### SEAGRAM PLANNING "CLEAN" EXPLOITATION

Seagram, a Canadian liquor corporation with a U.S. subsidiary, is currently involved in behind-the-scenes investigation of a possible \$10 million investment in KwaZulu, a bantustan in South Africa. (Although referred to as "homelands" by the South African regime, the bantustans are artificially created reservations on which Africans are forced to live.)

A company geared to consumer sales, Seagram has tried to find a "clean" way of exploiting African resources and labor while not endorsing apartheid. This is clearly impossible.

The export of a distillery operation to KwaZulu will not only exploit Africans for profit but will legitimize the bantustan system and aid the racist regime by doing so.

There is a seemingly endless list of U.S. profiteers operating in South Africa, including Ford, Chrysler, American Airlines, Holiday Inns, Union Carbide, and others. But their grip is weakening as Black Africans after each heroic struggle take more and more power into their own hands.

\*\*\*\* A TIME FOR AZANIA \*\*\*\*

A new special booklet from the P.A.C. in Perspective series. It has articles written before the National Uprising which started on June 16, 1976, but accurately predicting the explosion of violent struggle now rocking apartheid South Africa.

Send for copies to:

Azania Combat  
875 West End Avenue, #14E  
New York, N.Y. 10025

U.S. & Canada:

\$1.20 per copy or \$10 per dozen

Overseas:

\$2.30 per copy or \$20 per dozen

(All prices include postage)